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Norbert Huchler studied sociology, psychology, and criminology at the University of Munich. He is employed as a researcher at Institut für Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung e.V. – ISF München. He has just finished his doctorial thesis on the work-life arrangements of pilots with a special focus on mobility and flexibility against the background of the recent change of work and technology.

Res Ingold is the founder and owner of Ingold Airlines, a corporation for international air transport, Cologne (1982–2002 Chairman of the Board; www.ingoldairlines.com), and the holding company Ingold Universal Enterprises (since 2002 Chairman of the Advisory Board). Since 1994, he has been a professor of interdisciplinary projects in the area of art education at the Akademie der Bildenden Künste München. He lives in Cologne and Monticchio, and is married to the TV writer Monika Schuck.

Anne Jensen is a senior researcher at the Department for Environmental Sciences, Aarhus University, Denmark, and has previously held a postdoctoral position at Roskilde University, Denmark, where she also took her PhD in 2006 on "Governing with Rationalities of Mobility: A Study of Institution Building and Governmentality in European Transport Policy." In recent years, her research has centered on mobility and (sustainable) transport policy/planning, on spatial planning at urban, regional, and transnational scales, and on urban and everyday issues related to climate change. She has pursued a keen theoretical interest in critical mobility studies and issues of mobility, power and space, with a conceptual focus on social and spatial imaginaries, policy rationalities and discursive as well as experiential power. Methodologically, her interest is mainly in qualitative methods to capture mobility in diverse ways and to examine recent developments in spatial planning, including the role of mobility.

Gülsün Karamustafa is one of the most respected Turkish artists. She graduated from the Istanbul State Fine Arts Academy and lives and works in Istanbul. She has participated in international art exhibitions in Turkey, China, Cuba, and Egypt, and has had solo shows in Istanbul, Geneva, Milan, Munich, Paris, Turin, Salzburg, and elsewhere.

Alexandra Karentzos is Professor of Art History, Fashion and Aesthetics at the Technical University of Darmstadt. Previously she was Professor at the University of Trier and Assistant Curator at the Alte Nationalgalerie and the Nationalgalerie Hamburger Bahnhof – Museum of Contemporary Art (both in Berlin) and has

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also taught History of Art at the University of Art Braunschweig. In 2007 she was appointed as a fellow at Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH, US (in the research group "No Laughing Matter. Visual Humor in Ideas of Race, Nationality, and Ethnicity"), and 2010–2011 became a fellow at the Alfried Krupp Wissenschaftskolleg Greifswald. She is co-founder and member of the board of the Centre for Postcolonial and Gender Studies (CePoG) Trier, and is co-founder and editor of the new magazine for contemporary art and popular culture, *Querformat*. Her research interests cover the art and culture of the nineteenth century to the present day, focusing especially on gender and postcolonial issues (art and tourism, irony and postcolonialism, orientalism, gender studies and system theory, construction of body and gender, reception of antiquity). Her recent publications include *Schlüsselwerke der Postcolonial Studies* (edited with Julia Reuter) and *Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag 2011; Topologies of Travel. Tourism – Imagination – Migration* (edited with Alma-Elisa Kittner and Julia Reuter).

Christoph Keller is a German artist whose installations frequently resemble experimental configurations. He uses the discursive possibilities of art to investigate the themes of science and its utopias. In *Encyclopaedia Cinematographica* (2001) and *Archives as Objects as Monuments* (2000), he focused upon the archeology of scientific film, the impossibility of objective documentation, and the problem of the archival urge to bring order to comprehensive knowledge. In spite of all methodological objectivity, a selective and deliberate design is always at work here. In *Expedition-Bus and Shaman-Travel* (2002), a mirrored camping bus for research trips, the ethnographic viewpoint of science was exposed as a projection of its own culture. He often works on themes at the frontiers of science, such as the connection between hypnosis and cinematography in *Hypnosis-Film-Project* (2007) or *Visiting a Contemporary Art Museum under Hypnosis* (2006). In *The Chemtrails Phenomenon* (2006) and *The Whole Earth* (2007), the theme is conspiracy theories in the Internet, which as "scientific constructs" are likewise expressions of a certain state of consciousness in society. The Cloudbuster-Projects (since 2003) involve re-enactments of Wilhelm Reich's experiments for influencing the atmosphere with orgon energy. In 2007 he founded the interdisciplinary research group for Trance and the Representation of Altered States in the Arts at the Bern University of the Arts. Æther – between cosmology and consciousness (2011) at the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris was his first international artistic and curatorial-exhibition. His website is: www.christophkeller.net.

Sven Kesselring is Professor in Mobility, Governance and Olanning at Aalborg University, Denmark and teaches at the Technical University of Munich. He studied sociology, political science and psychology, and holds a PhD in sociology from Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich and a habilitation in sociology from Technical University of Munich. In 2008 he was a visiting professor for sociological theory at Universität Kassel and he is the speaker of the international Cosmobilities Network (www.cosmobilities.net). From 1999 to 2006 he was member of the

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reflexive modernization research centre in Munich (DFG Sonderforschungsbereich 536). Sin From 2008 to 2012 he was member of the mobil.TUM research centre of mobility and transport at the Technical University of Munich. His recent publications include: *Tracing Mobilities: Towards a Cosmopolitan Perspective* (edited with W. Canzler and V. Kaufmann, 2008); *Aeromobilities* (edited with S. Cwerner and J. Urry, 2009); and 'Pioneering Mobilities: New Patterns of Movement and Motility in a Mobile World' (2006).

Sanneke Kloppenburg is a PhD candidate at the Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research at the University of Amsterdam. In her PhD research she explores the mobility regimes that organize and regulate transnational mobilities at airports, with a particular focus on regimes for "problematic" mobilities such as drug smuggling and labor migration.

Pia Lanzinger is an artist and curator who lives and works in Berlin. Her work deals with the interaction between global structures and local phenomena. Her site-specific projects are based on research and collaboration with people at the location. To a large extent she matches the choice of her means of expressions to the respective social surroundings, the topic, and the subject of examination. She studied photography, communications, American cultural studies, and art history in Munich. She has contributed to many German and international art exhibitions, most recently in Mexico City and Seoul.

Carsten Bagge Laustsen is an associate professor in political sociology at the Department of Political Science, Aarhus University, Denmark. His main research interests are social and political theory, ideology critique, politics and popular culture, terrorism and political theology. With Bülent Diken he has published *The Culture of Exception. Sociology Facing the Camp* and *Sociology through the Projector*.

Dan Perjovschi is a Romanian artist and journalist. He lives and works in Bucharest. He has exhibited widely nationally and internationally, including solo shows at the Tate Modern, London, the Museum of Modern Art (MoMa), New York, Museum Ludwig, Cologne, and the Museum of Contemporary Art of Rome (MACRO).

Mimi Sheller is Professor of Sociology and Director of the Center for Mobilities Research and Policy at Drexel University in Philadelphia. She is also a senior research fellow and former co-director of the Centre for Mobilities Research at Lancaster University, and is the founding co-editor of the journal *Mobilities*. Her recent work is especially concerned with the convergences of information technologies, mobile communications, and physical spatiality in relation to social inequalities and the ethics of mobility. She is the author of the books *Democracy after Slavery* (2000), *Consuming the Caribbean* (2003), and *Citizenship from Below* (2012). She is co-editor with John Urry of *Mobile Technologies of the City* (2006), *Tourism Mobilities* (2004), and a special issue of *Environment and Planning A* on "Materialities and Mobilities."

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Alissa Tolstokorova is an independent expert in gender issues. She has held research and policy development positions at the International School for Equal Opportunities in Kiev, at the State Institute for Family and Youth Development of the Ministry of Ukraine for Family, Youth and Sports, and the Ukrainian Institute for Social Research in Kiev.

Bettina Camilla Vestergaard is a visual artist who lives and works in Copenhagen. Her work explores the visual and verbal in the formation of identity, gender, and space. She works in a variety of media, including photography, text, sound, performance, and installations. She received her Master of Fine Arts (MFA) from Malmö Art Academy. Her work has been shown in group and solo exhibits in Europe, the US, Mexico, and Vietnam. She collaborates with visual sociologist André Amtoft.

Gerlinde Vogl studied sociology and psychology at Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich and the University of Vienna. She holds a PhD in sociology from the Technical University of Munich. Currently she is involved in a project at the University of Oldenburg on mobile work and work-life balance. She has widely published on the sociology of work and mobility. Her recent publications are on mobile work and business travel. Together with Sven Kesselring, she published in German a book on corporate mobilities regimes (*Betriebliche Mobilitätsregime*, 2010).

Jorinde Voigt is a Berlin-based German artist who works in the fields of drawing and installation. In 2004 she undertook her MA in Visual Culture at the Universität der Künste in Berlin in the class of Professor Katharina Sieverding. Her large-scale drawings are composed of delicate lines, writing, and numbers, which are reminiscent of codes, diagrams, or notations. She was the recipient of the Otto Dix Prize in 2008, and in 2006 she was awarded the Herbert Zapp Preis für junge Kunst. Since 2009 her works have been exhibited at the Watermill Center in New York, the Gemeentemuseum Den Haag, the Venice Biennale, the Museum Dont-Dhaenens in Deurle, Belgium, and elsewhere. She is represented in the collections of the Museum of Modern Art, New York, the Centre Pompidou, Paris, and the Federal Republic of Germany's Contemporary Art Collection in Bonn.

Susanne Witzgall holds a PhD in art history and is head of the cx centre of interdisciplinary studies at the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich. From 2003 to 2011 she was an assistant professor at the Department for Art History at the same institution. From 1995 to 2002 she worked as a curator for the Deutsches Museum Bonn and the Deutsches Museum, Munich. Her research interests focus especially on the interfaces between art and science, art and sociology/cultural anthropology, art as research, and knowledge production. She has curated and co-curated several exhibitions in Germany and Austria, among them *Art & Brain II* (1997/98), *The Second Face* (2002, with Cornelia Kemp), *Say it isn't so* (2007, with Peter Friese) and *(Re)designing nature* (2010/11, with Florian Matzner). She is the author and editor of several books and articles on contemporary art and art and science, such as *Kunst nach der Wissenschaft* [*Art after Science*] (2003) or *Medienrelationen* (edited with Cornelia Gockel, 2011).

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Jae-Hyun Yoo is an artist who has completed fine art studies in Seoul and Berlin. His work is concerned with borders and border crossings as leading to an "open identity." He examines current sociopolitical transformation processes in terms of how they create identity assignments and national categorizations as "us" and them."

Michael Zinganel is an architecture theorist, cultural historian, curator and artist, currently teaching at Bauhaus Kolleg, the postgraduate Academy of Bauhaus Dessau Foundation. He studied architecture at Graz, fine arts at the Jan van Eyck Academy Maastricht and obtained a PhD in contemporary history at the University of Vienna. He realized projects in diverse formats, e.g., about social housing in the 1930s, post-war single family homes, and the productive force of crime for the development of art, architecture, and urban design in *Real Crime, Architecture & Crime* (2003). Since 2003 he worked with Peter Spillmann or Michael Hieslmair on urban and transnational mobility, contemporary mass tourism and migration: for example, for Shrinking Cities in 2005, Open Cities, the 4th International Architecture Biennale Rotterdam, in 2009 and most recently at Ruhr.2010, the European Capital of Culture. Since 2010 he has been head of the research project "Holidays after the Fall: History and Transformation of Socialist Leisure Architecture at the Bulgarian Black Sea and the Croatian Adriatic Coast."

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Preface

The foundation for this book was laid in 2008 with a conference organized by the editors at the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich. Entitled "Tracing the New Mobilities Regimes," it initiated an ongoing dialogue between mobility researchers, sociologists, anthropologists, art theorists, and international artists, and took into account two current trends: the re-evaluation of visual art as independent research and knowledge production, and the reassessment of visual representations in sociology and anthropology. The book is based on selected contributions from and discussions during the conference, and yet it is more than just belated conference proceedings; it is the updated and expanded version of an interdisciplinary discourse that began in 2008 and contains a series of additional essays and work presentations.

In the present publication, artists and scientists analyze how the global mobility of people, things, and data change the world today, and which principles, norms, and rules are at work when these movements are designed, formed, and controlled. It focuses on the everyday life of female teleworkers or female Ukrainian migrant workers in Western Europe as well as the identities of globally operating companies, the hubs and traffic routes of migrants and travelers, or the interdependencies between mobility and new concepts of space. It deals with the positive effects as well as the dark sides of the globalization and the mobilization of modern life.

Besides the two introductory texts by the editors, the book is divided into six sections – a prologue, which reflects on the tracking of mobility; an epilogue, which outlines future scenarios for the mobility of tomorrow; and four core themes, which examine the phenomena and regularities associated with mobile work, migration, and with the camps in which people converge; as well as the relationships between mobility and space. Each chapter unites artistic and scientific contributions that supplement, link with, comment on, or contradict one another. This results in a diverse and dynamic picture of the correlations between mobility, power, and society.

In the "Work in Motion" section, for example, the forced immobility of telework is compared with the extreme mobility of airline crews, employees of multinational corporations, or migrant workers. At the same time, the physically and emotionally

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taxing working conditions of aircraft captains and flight attendants are compared with the promises made by the advertisements of an imaginary airline. What becomes more evident than has previously been the case are the singularities, constraints, and consequences of the new mobilities regimes in the world of labor that give priority to the imperative "Be mobile, be flexible!".

The contributions in the next section, "Modalities of Migration," deal with the formal and informal power structures of migration regimes. They point out the specific principles, norms, and regularities under which the legal and illegal flux of masses of people take place, distinguish them from the parameters of tourism, and connect the macro-perspective of tracked paths of migration with the micro-perspective of interviewed actors and those concerned.

The "Camp Politics" section, in contrast, concentrates on mobility in spatial and political intermediate and border regions as well as on the camp as a refuge and temporary residence for migrants, refugees, mobility researchers, or political activists – in short, for people in transit. With respect to the works by Giorgio Agamben, the camp appears as a space beyond law and culture in which the state of emergency is elevated to a new paradigm. Depending on the type of camp, this state of emergency, which results directly from the move from established constitutional and cultural contexts, produces precarious living circumstances or regimes that are consciously counter to existing perception patterns or the existing political status quo.

Finally, the "Spacing Mobilities – Mobilization of Space" section sheds light on the relationship between mobility and space, whereby the sensuous experience of reality (or realities) plays a primary role. The contributions not only demonstrate how a strategic spatial structure and development sort migration currents or model the experiences made by urban cyclists, but, like mobility and wireless devices with free access to the Internet and geographic information systems, enable experiencing multiple worlds or generate an augmented reality. In the process of experiencing mobilities, territories are resurveyed and combined in different ways.

We would like to extend our thanks to all of the artists and scientists who enriched the conference and/or the present publication with their lectures, works, and discussion contributions, and in this way were instrumental in the success of this interdisciplinary experiment. We would also like to thank the German Research Foundation (DFG), the Institute for Advanced Study (IAS) of the Technische Universität München, as well as the Reflexive Modernization Research Centre in Munich (SFB 536) which generously supported the conference *Tracing the New Mobilities Regimes*. Last but not least, our warm thanks go out to the Andrea von Braun Stiftung, Munich, and the Cosmobilities Network, which made this publication possible in the first place.

Susanne Witzgall, Gerlinde Vogl, Sven Kesselring
Munich, 2013

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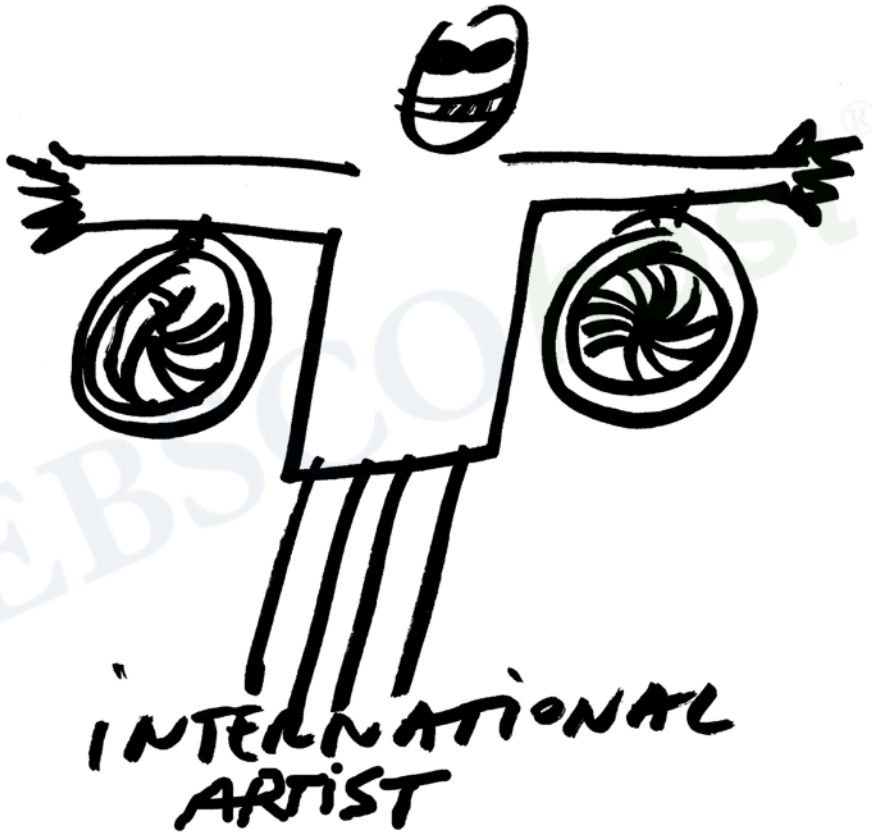
Introduction



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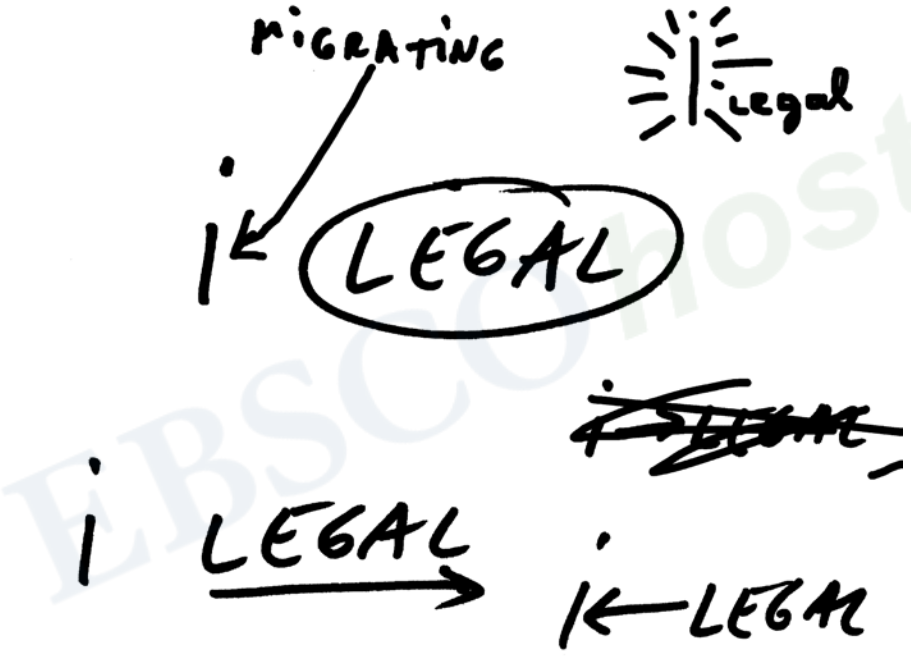

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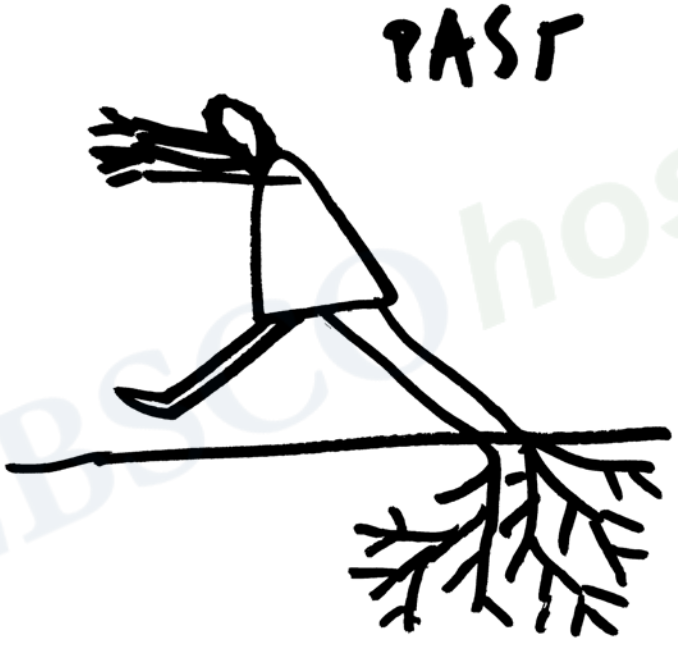

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1

Mobility and the Image-Based Research of Art

Susanne Witzgall

The increasingly accelerated, global movement of information, goods, and people has long since become an issue that is not exclusively examined by transport researchers and sociologists. Contemporary artists are also dealing to a greater extent with the phenomena of exponentially advancing mobility. They are often enough not only themselves drifters and vagabonds between exhibition venues, trade fairs, and periods of artists-in-residence in a globalized art business, but also explore the conditions and forms of travel, the "geography and politics of mobility," or scrutinize the promises made by apparently boundless mobility (Biemann 2003; Kravagna 2006; Plath and Casser 2008). They examine the phenomena of tourism, migration, and mobile labor, as well as the structures, sites, and border zones of mobility movements or the influence of new communications technologies on the behavior and mapping of mobile things and individuals. In the process, artistic works can be viewed as an independent form of gaining insight. They often explore that which lies beyond the reach of scientific issues and problems, or what is overlooked and excluded by conventional scientific approaches (cf. also Mersch and Ott 2007, 29). The present publication therefore for the first time places the current artistic examination of phenomena of mobility or mobilities regimes as specific arrangements of principles, norms, and rules that control the movement and mobility of people and objects[1] alongside scientific analyses as an independent research achievement, and lends substance to visual representation.

ART AS INSIGHT

In the past two decades, a fierce debate has again erupted on the revaluation of artistic research and gaining insight, fired by increasing skepticism with respect to science's claim to truth and a valorization of the image in the course of the so-called iconic turn. Science researchers such as Bruno Latour, Karin Knorr-Cetina, or Donna Haraway, who since the 1970s have been laboring to provide a "more realistic account of science-in-the-making" (Latour 1999, 15), have shown that

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even the insights gained by the natural sciences are defined and thus culturally produced by historical, social, economic, discursive, or political factors. Their research has given cause to scientific work increasingly being viewed "as in itself one plural, cultural form of expression among others," of which *none* of its forms "on principle [has] a privileged relationship to nature" (Rheinberger 2010, 4). In this respect, natural and technological sciences are described as cultural practices that in principle do not differ from the "symbolic, interpretive, 'hermeneutic' practice of the social sciences" (Knorr Cetina 1981, 137) and, in the final analysis, in the process of the depiction of reality itself they are in no way superior to the narratological and symbolic-interpretive practice of the arts. The modern self-image of science as a guidance system that reveals the truth (Rheinberger 1997, 8) seems to have begun to totter. The jolt it has experienced has led not to a social, but at least to an epistemological loss of power that is currently being recognized not only by the humanities but also by artists as an opportunity to put their own forms of the description and cognition of reality on an equal footing with scientific forms of the same (cf., among others, Sullivan 2005).

At the same time, in the past two decades the image has shifted into focus of scientific interest as a primary means of expression and medium of insight. In the early 1990s, W.J.T. Mitchell and Gottfried Boehm rang in the so-called iconic turn, which responds to the social omnipresence of images. The stipulated turn to the image not only leads to an intensified theoretical examination of images meant to do justice to the role of the image in society, but describes "the image as Logos, as an act that generates meaning" (Boehm 2007b, 29) with its own epistemic quality. In doing so, the iconic turn consciously counteracts the undisputed regime of language, which in particular since the early twentieth century equates any generation of relevance and meaning with the designation and naming of reality and thus causes insight to appear to be something genuinely linguistic. On the other hand, it emphasizes the sensuous variety and visual capacity of the image and acknowledges "imaging" as "the richest, most fascinating modality for configuring and conveying ideas" (Stafford 1996, 4). Against this backdrop, for the visual arts cognitive content or a specific form of knowledge as a primarily image-based form of expression or iconic communication is again called upon, and an attempt is made to define it with respect to its features (see, e.g., Frayling 1993; Stafford 1996; Young 2001; Sullivan 2005; Macleod and Holdridge 2006; Boehm 2007a, 2007b).

ART AND ANTHROPOLOGY

At the same time, the iconic turn also comprises anthropology and ethnography, while in the visual arts one conversely speaks of an ethnographic turn (Foster 1996, 182). The rediscovery of the image in cultural anthropology or the rapid upsurge of a visual anthropology and ethnography was supported in the 1980s by the so-called writing culture debate, which precipitated a crisis in ethnographic representation. Ethnographic texts, which had previously adhered to a positivist

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ideal of science, lost the status of neutral, objective descriptions and were exposed as construed or time- and society-dependent. Yet the emphasis on their fictitious qualities undermines the privileged position of the scientific ethnographic text as compared with the image, which had hitherto been eyed with mistrust. The visual representation was consequently rediscovered as an opportunity to allow the "object of examination" to speak for itself and, by including additional sensuous qualities, expand our understanding of the human condition (cf., among others, Prosser 1998).

The interest that anthropology and ethnography have in the visual arts can be traced back to as early as the 1960s and 1970s – for instance, in the works by Lothar Baumgarten or the field research conducted by the *Spurensicherer* artists. In addition, in 1969 Joseph Kosuth published a seminal text on the subject, "The Artist as Anthropologist" (Kosuth 1991). In this he calls for art that serves cultural insight and defines the artist as a "committed anthropologist" who works within his own sociocultural context. Hal Foster, however, first diagnosed an ethnographic turn in contemporary art in the 1990s, following which artists have again increasingly applied the scientific strategies of anthropology and sociology. From this point onward, this appropriation of methods of ethnographic description and field research is decidedly associated with their critical reflection. The adapted and modified scientific approaches are not only a tool and a means to an end; rather, their claim to truth is scrutinized by an art influenced by postcolonialism and critical of institutions, and examined with respect to their social and political dimensions. It is at this juncture that art meets with the self-adulation and self-deconstruction of these sciences.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ARTISTIC APPROACH

Due, on the one hand, to the growing interest by sociology and anthropology in visual representations and in image-based research, as well as an artistic adoption and examination of ethnographic methods on the other hand, the relationships between these two disciplinary fields have become consolidated, and the number of interfaces has multiplied. In this respect, it is not surprising that direct collaborations between artists and sociologists or ethnologists have recently been reported, to which several of the contributions in this publication testify. Against this background, in the selection of the artistic contributions for the present interdisciplinary publication, it presented itself to place the focus on artistic stances that borrow methods from anthropology and the social sciences. Besides a strong imagery, such works of art also frequently work with written sources and text-based forms of research. However, these do not constitute the basis for a scientific analysis and evaluation, but stand on an equal footing alongside the image as an additional source of information, or enter into a synthesis with the image. They are part of a complex image-text arrangement – an open, sensuous structure that first requires the viewer's interpretation and has no interest in supplying scientifically verifiably results.

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This especially holds true for the works by Pia Lanzinger, Michael Hieslmair and Michael Zinganel, Lisl Ponger, Gülsün Karamustafa, Ursula Biemann, Yoo Jae-Hyun, and Farida Heuck. These resemble ethnographic or sociological field studies in which social groups or milieus are examined that are subject to the pressure of mobilities regimes. The artists document observations, collect visual material, and conduct qualitative interviews, which count amongst the classic instruments of the empirical social sciences. Differences compared to the scientific approach nevertheless come to light. In her book version of *An Enterprise in Her Own Four Walls: Teleworking*, Pia Lanzinger, for example, refers the situation of the home-based teleworkers she investigated to her own working situation as an artist in a much more explicit way than would a reflexively oriented scientific study, and identifies it as her motivation for dealing with the issue in the first place. Above all, however, the principles of a "demobilization of labor" due to new communications technologies – including the problems of social isolation and the erosion of boundaries in terms of time and space associated with it – are not presented in a representative scientific analysis of facts or an evaluation of interviews. Rather, they become understandable in the artistic presentation – be it in the book version or in the installative set-up in an exhibition – by way of the direct image- and text-based confrontation with the interviewees, without any additional commentary. The work gains a further essential quality in the exhibition space in that the video interviews can be viewed either in a stylized apartment or in combination with the home-based teleworkers' authentically reconstructed desks. The spatial installation, which restricts and guides the visitor's radius of movement, allows the direct physical and emotional perception of the specific working conditions in their everyday aesthetics, the restriction of mobility to the area of the home, and the "collapse of the living and working space, the vampirical relationship of work to life" (Bauer 2005, 136).

However, Michael Hieslmair and Michael Zinganel, who describe themselves as "investigative architects" and "ethnographically inspired artists" (cf. p. 115), in part work with fictitious or at least strongly typified and exaggerated elements. For the work *Saison Opening – Seasonal City*, which examines migration currents in the Tyrolean Alps, they condense statements made during interviews into nearly caricature-like key scenes in comic-book form in order to make pointed statements about the laws of and problems associated with season-dependent mobility currents. Furthermore, what is key in their works is making fluctuating migration movements and path network diagrams capable of being experienced by means of their sculptural-architectural translation. This also transforms other heterogeneous information and data collections into a descriptive model that generates such an unorthodox network of geographic, temporal, political, and individual factors.

In Lisl Ponger's case, the cultural scientist Alexandra Karentzos analyzes the artist's examination of different forms of mobility based on her films *Passages* (1996) and *Déjà vu* (1999). Karentzos demonstrates how Ponger opens up a productive space solely by means of a differentiated fusion and comparison of segments from touristic films from the 1950s and 1970s and fragments from interviews with

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refugees in which the various regimes of tourism and migration are reflected and problematized.

Gülsün Karamustafa's major theme is time and again international nomadism. In *Unawarded Performances* (2005), which is represented here with video stills and an explanatory text by the artist, she, like Pia Lanzinger, lets images and her interview partners speak for themselves. The video features Moldavian women who, due to their catastrophic economic situation, are forced to leave their home country and work in Istanbul as illegal housemaids for wealthy older ladies. The emphasis lies on individual destinies and an aesthetic-atmospheric description of the tense relation between the migrants' precarious situation and the secure circumstances of their well-to-do employers. The camera continuously pans over spacious apartments furnished with antiques, in sharp contrast to the housemaids, who seem almost out of place, and their stories. In this way, the very inequality of what is visible already exposes the power constellations of labor migration.

In her first contribution, "Counter-Geographies in the Sahara," the artist Ursula Biemann provides an elaborate theoretical reflection on her artistic visual exploration of phenomena of migration, while her second contribution, "X-Mission," focuses on images. Her theoretical contribution makes reference to her work *Sahara Chronicle* (2006–2009), an open video anthology of the modalities of West African migration movements northwards through the Sahara. The multichannel video installation consciously does without a homogeneous, linear narrative strand. It stands out due to its incomplete diversity of voices and remains fragmentary in order to underscore the temporariness and the transitory character of the narrative. Biemann points out the essayistic character of her practice, which differs from a scientific one. She follows a subjective logic and depicts the geographies of migration or global labor as spatial-visual configurations in order to combine the narrow perspective on individual voices with a more global look at systemic issues and more comprehensive structures. At the same time, she questions the workings of and conditions for the development of portrayals of illegal migration, thus again making reference to the fact that a visual representation is also in no way innocent, but is guided by interests and highly political.

The artists Farida Heuck and Yoo Jae-Hyun conducted their field studies for *DMZ Embassy* (2009/2010 – see Chapter 13 of this volume) in the border area between North and South Korea, investigating the influence of highly restricted and strongly regulated mobility on tourism, the economy, and everyday life. The artistic result of their studies in the form of an installation, a book (Heuck and Jae-Hyun 2009), and the condensed text-photo spread included in this volume also emphasize the narratives' diversity of voices and different points of view. In addition, the filmed interviews and photographs are spatially situated within the installation. The landscape, however, is only partially visible by way of various eyepiece pairs, which addresses the interviewees' various points of view yet also alludes to the researching observer's limited field of vision and channeled view.

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COLLABORATIVE ACHIEVEMENTS

The contributions by Charles Heller and Mehdi Alioua as well as André Amtoft and Bettina Vestergaard were developed in direct cooperation between artists and sociologists or ethnologists. The collaboration between sociologist Mehdi Alioua with video artist Charles Heller prompted the project *Maghreb Connection,* which was initiated in 2006 by Ursula Biemann as a "collaborative art and visual research project" (Biemann 2006) on North African migration space. Her contribution, "Transnational Migration, Clandestinity and Globalization," deals with Sub-Saharan transmigrants in Morocco and revises the prevalent image of a massive invasion of Maghreb, which is solely regimented by state violence, by Sub-Saharan Africans. By combining the results of their sociological and artistic research, the authors demonstrate, among other things, that the transmigrants themselves become an important self-regulating authority over their mobility, the origin of their own mobilities regimes, by way of sophisticated networks and bases that are firmly established geographically. Thus, this contribution not only demonstrates what makes the concept of the regime according to Hess and Karakayah particularly significant, it also enables "understanding regulations as effects, as concentrations of social activities, and does not imply that they are functionalistic." The image material Heller and Alioua use, by the way, for the most part stems from Charles Heller's film *Crossroads at the Edge of Worlds* (2006), which deals with the same topic.

While Alioua and Heller present the results of their artistic-scientific research, visual sociologist André Amtoft and artist Bettina Vestergaard focus on the concept of new, interdisciplinary research praxis with respect to the theme of mobility situated between sociology and art. Starting out from the basic assumption that a change of behavior and perception generally leads to a reconfiguration of knowledge, they are currently working on a Campervan Residency Program. It is meant to make a nomadic living-working space available to artists and scientists with which they can enter into the flux of things in order to make the visual and aesthetic manifestations of the mobility and immobility of people, objects, or information perceptible in a new way.

OTHER FORMS OF THE ARTISTIC INQUIRY

The artistic contributions by Jorinde Voigt, Christoph Keller, Dan Perjovschi, and Res Ingold extend the range of artistic research in the field of the mobilities regimes that is represented here. They distinguish themselves less through their adoption of ethnographic or sociological methods, although it cannot be denied that the works by Jorinde Voigt bear a striking resemblance to scientific systems of recording, and in contrast to many of the previously mentioned artistic stances do not use time-based media such as video or sound recordings. This predestines them in particular for the book format, for which they – as is the case for Perjovschi and Ingold – in part were specifically developed. Such contributions get by completely

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without accompanying or explanatory texts, while many other artists have made recourse to hybrid presentations between text and image or written explanation and image. In this respect, the boundaries are fluid between autonomous artistic book contributions and documentations of current videos or installations, which without written explanations are only understandable in the original.

In her series *territory*, *intercontinental*, and *airport study*, using virtuoso graphic notations, Jorinde Voigt explores relationships and interferences between territories and the mobility of people and energies. While the rhythmic compositions and meticulously executed diagrams she produces may resemble scientific maps, they are fictitious to the extent that they make reference not to a supposedly objective reality, but always to the actor or the acting author, who traces movements as well as surveying territories and continuously redefining them. Nevertheless – or perhaps precisely for this reason – what becomes visible in Voigt's drawings, in their patterns and rhythmic constellations of lines, is what Martin Kemp refers to as "structural intuition." By this Kemp means not only the ability of scientists and artists to recognize static and dynamic patterns in nature and to extract orders of varying complexity out of the chaos of manifestations, but also the ability to intuitively grasp and visualize fundamental structural principles of our world (Kemp 2004).

Among other things, Dan Perjovschi and Res Ingold rely on irony as a cognitive strategy – if in a completely different way. While in his drawings Romanian artist Perjovschi reduces the principles, norms, and power relations of current mobility phenomena to a salient formula, Res Ingold's work first and foremost deals with the myths and ideals of optimized mobility. The advertisements he developed specifically for this book promote the services of the fictitious Ingold Airlines, which the artist has made known, not only within an art context, over the past 30 years by means of landing strip installations, market launch campaigns, merchandising objects, stockholders' meetings, panel discussions, sponsoring events, and promotional films. In the process he has created an ironically exaggerated image of an airline company that claims not only to fulfill exclusive transportation needs oriented toward the individual customer, but also the need for happiness, social recognition, or – as the ads suggest – success and deceleration. Yet these promises admittedly reveal themselves as illusory and challenge not only common marketing strategies, but above all the cliché of the comfortable, infinitely flexible mobility of goods and human beings. Yet, in their combination with the scientific essay by Nicole Dietrich and Norbert Huchler on the mobile labor of pilots and flight attendants, its impact, and established compensation strategies, Ingold's advertisements obtain a particularly ambiguous explosive nature.

Perjovschi's drawings take up the tradition of political caricatures, but as apparently fleetingly jotted down image-text abbreviations, they also internalize formal elements of graffiti as well as scribbles on the walls of toilet stalls. Perjovschi works with stylized culminations that lead to a humorous signet-like compression and extraction of meaning, and in this way they get to the heart of typical situations and constellations in our social reality. Perjovschi's works therefore run through

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all of the book's chapters as striking graphic commentaries on the various core problems and consequences of new forms of mobility and mobilities regimes. The artist creates new drawings for nearly all of the six chapters in the book. For Perjovschi, irony also serves as a skeptical challenge, as reservation, and thus gains a clearly political dimension, in particular in those drawings that address the inequality and regimentation of mobility.

In contrast, Christoph Keller's 360-degree images are first and foremost a reflection on the perception of motion. Using a converted photo camera, the artist captures moving persons and objects on film that is pulled across the exposure slot while the picture is being taken. In the process, the specific relation between the movement of the object and the movement of the light-sensitive material determines the photographic result. Keller in this way demonstrates that the perception of movement is always dependent on the movement of the viewer, and vice versa. From his works one can in turn strike an arc to the campervan project by Amtoft and Vestergaard, in which the "mobilization" of the researcher is regarded as a condition for the new perception of mobility phenomena. It is in principle noticeable that most of the artistic contributions also include a reflection on the perception of mobility, its dependency on the author's interests and personality, on the medium of representation, and location – be it moving or static. Thus, as Karentzos demonstrates, the films *Passages* and *Déjà vu* by Lisl Ponger also possess a self-reflexive structure in that the tourist's eye and the film camera that guides it are put in the picture. Finally, Hieslmair and Zinganel include themselves in their comic-strip portrayals as participant observers.

In this context, key importance is assigned to the text by American artist and media theorist Jordan Crandall, the prologue preceding all the other scientific and artistic contributions. He takes a special stance, as he primarily focuses on the act of perceiving, discovering, and coding movement. In the process, he makes a case for a new relational method that takes account of a variety of actors and their interdependencies, as well as of a nonreductive network of interpretation that does not simply produce actors but articulates programs that "orchestrate the endless recombination of micro-variations that occur below and across the surface of bounded spaces and bodies" (cf. p. 50).

"Politics and art, like forms of knowledge, construct 'fictions,' that is to say *material* rearrangements of signs and images, relationships between what is seen and what is said, between what is done and what can be done," writes the French philosopher Jaques Rancière (2004, 39). This proposition by Ranciére suggests the principal equality of scientific and artistic depictions of reality, which simply represent different forms of the "distribution of the sensible." However, by "distribution of the sensible," Rancière means "a system or 'regime' of norms and habits that implicitly define the perception of the collective world" (Muhle 2008, 10). In this respect, art and science are influenced by different regimes of perception that also always have to be reflected. Yet they can complement, overlap, and contradict one another and are subject to a constant distribution and reconfiguration. In this book, the scientific and artistic "fictions" of new mobilities regimes are compared in six thematic fields in order to illustrate such a completion, overlapping, and contradiction of the

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scientific and artistic "division of the sensible," and force open the bottlenecks of the individual specialist perspectives.

Translation from German: Rebecca van Dyck

NOTE

1 For a detailed definition of the concept "mobility regime," see the introductory contribution by Sven Kesselring and Gerlinde Vogl in Chapter 2 of this volume.

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2

The New Mobilities Regimes

Sven Kesselring and Gerlinde Vogl

> Things must become visible to the mind and body before we can conceive them. Notably, seeing a phenomenon is epistemologically different from 'saying' this phenomenon; seeing entails distinctive ways of perceiving the phenomenon and making it accessible and as such is constitutive for the becoming of the phenomenon. (Jensen 2011, 255)

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, globalization research has moved social and spatial mobilization to the center of attention in social theory. Social, political, economic, and cultural developments geared toward worldwide interconnected structures of interaction and exchange of physical, social, and digital units are interpreted as an all-embracing liquefaction of spatial, social, and cultural relations (Sloterdijk 1989; Urry 2000; Bauman 2000; Tomlinson 2003; Cresswell 2006; Urry 2007; Beck 2008; Rosa and Scheuerman 2008; Ritzer 2010). Authors such as David Harvey, Doreen Massey, Anthony Giddens, and Benno Werlen take this as a sign of a shrinking world as a consequence of accelerated and improved transportation and communication technologies and tightly coupled interaction across wide distances, which form what comes very close to ontological foundations of modernization. Harvey coined the term "time-space compression" to describe this. It goes back to Marx's idea of "annihilation of space by time." Spaces and spheres that were once clearly separated can now be closely coupled through transportation and IT technologies; remote processes can be coordinated in real time. This simultaneity of events represents a radical change in the way space and time is experienced. It is a product of the exclusiveness of spaces dissolving and being permeated or reshaped by sociomaterial networks, which at the same time both enhance and restrict the mobility of people, commodities, raw materials, data, information, signs, and signals. Virtual, communicative, and media-based mobility occur simultaneously in the same place, yet in different spaces, for:

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> *speed is categorically different from immediacy. Mechanical velocity is still with us in abundance; indeed, the Night Mail still runs. Just as globalization has not literally shrunk the world, so distance and the physical effort to overcome it still stubbornly persist. But now we have something else. Now we have the phenomenon of immediacy, which, in its light, effortless, easy ubiquity, has more or less displaced both the laborious and the heroic cultural attachments of an earlier speed. And with this displacement comes a shift in cultural assumptions, expectations, attitudes and values. (Tomlinson 2003, 57)*

The mobilizations we are describing here are by no means simply a natural or inevitable development. Rather, they are the outcome of a multitude of collective and individual decisions made in politics and everyday life. They are decisions affecting how mobility spaces and mobility structures develop and what is included in or excluded from the social and spatial organization of transportation and communication infrastructures.

Ritzer thus defines globalization as:

> *a transplanetary process or set of processes involving increasing liquidity and the growing multidirectional flows of people, objects, places and information as well as the structures they encounter and create that are barriers to, or expedite, those flows. (Ritzer 2010, 2)*

He points out that these structures advance mobility while restricting and channeling it at the same time. In accentuating this aspect, he draws attention to the existence of powerful regimes ensuring that not everything and everyone is mobile but rather that the paths and potentials for mobility are defined and regulated in a globalized and highly interconnected world. Urry (2000) has this in mind when he emphasizes that the object of mobility research is the triad of "networks, scapes, and flows." What he means by this is that there are sociomaterial structures and networks based on what he calls scapes (road, rail, water, and airways, cables, GPS connections, wireless connections of various kinds, etc.) in which these streams of people commodities, capital, signs, and information can flow. Ritzer points out:

> *that that which is fluid never flows outside of set structures, which encapsulate, channel, contain, or even seek to inhibit it. These containers, channels, dams, and barriers function in many different ways. (Ritzer and Murphy 2002, 53, translated from German by the authors)*

Modern society celebrates its mobility as a tremendous success story ensuring prosperity, equality, and productivity. Yet, at the same time, the unintended side-effects of the motorization and mobilization involved pose a massive threat to humans and ecosystems. The traffic volume that has evolved over the past 100 years is a source of massive problems and substantial ecological, financial, social, and cultural costs and crises. The mobility systems strongly determine the spatial and organizational structures of modern societies (cf. Graham and Marvin 2001; Urry 2004; Derudder, van Nuffel, and Witlox 2009; Graham 2010; Dennis, Chapter 24, this volume). Analyses of the automobile system and global infrastructures,

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such as transportation and communication technologies (airplanes/airports, container ships, freight logistics systems, telecommunication, etc.), inform us about how the centers of power are geopolitically distributed across the globe (Castells 2001; Taylor 2004; Dicken 2007). Most transportation activities occur between the nodes of so-called world city networks (Taylor 2004). By tracing air activity between airports, we can reconstruct a geopolitical map of the world based on such transportation data (see Derudder and Witlox 2005).

Cities such as London, Paris, or New York and their infrastructures function as so-called "spatial fixes" (Harvey 1982; Harvey 1990; Brenner 1998; Jessop 2006) through which flows of capital, labor, commodities, and waste circulate. In order to realize this tremendous mobility potential, complex political, organizational, and cultural mobilities regimes have evolved, which enable the accessing of spaces, maintaining stable links between people, institutions, markets, and nation states, and regulating movement between the nodes of the global network society.

The existence of global infrastructures, such as roads, waterways, and high-speed rail and air connections, linking cities, towns, and regions with the rest of the world, creates new pressures for and practices of mobility, gives rise to changed, mobile forms of work and lifestyles, and triggers global chains of cause and effect that both individuals and modern institutions and organizations are forced to cope with. Norbert Huchler and Nicole Dietrich, for instance, describe in this volume flight crews' strategies of creating stability and a sense of embeddedness in their mobile lives. Starting from this observation, Anna Tsing (2009) identifies a historically new type of capitalism based on worldwide logistics chains and mobilities regimes. She speaks of "supply chain capitalism" and analyzes how social inequality outside the reach of national politics and regulation is aligned along the networks of transportation and provision infrastructures, which businesses (e.g., in the textile or auto industry) utilize to produce more efficiently at lower costs. Hegemonic relations between consumers, manufacturers, workers, and the families and social networks of which they are part are formed and consolidated along these chains – chains that at least challenge, if not evade, the influence of public policy.

Misguided developments and decisions in urban planning have led to urban architectures and consequently to everyday mobility cultures that are almost completely reliant on the automobile, as evidenced by cities such as Atlanta, Houston, Riyadh, Cairo, or New Delhi. This has entrapped people in rigid, auto-based mobilities regimes (Flink 1988; Vanderbilt 2009; Priester, Kenworthy, and Wulfhorst 2010). The development of transportation infrastructure has not yielded more mobility and autonomy at all. Studies of automobility show that permanent reliance on the automobile can result in losing the ability to recognize and use alternative modes of transportation and mobility. The development of infrastructure geared toward the automobile (as in the case of the USA and Canada) virtually immobilizes people, especially in old age, when they no longer have access to an automobile in the way they had been accustomed to (cf. Fisker 2011). Car use can also result in a loss of mobility, particularly when roads are congested. Ulrich Beck has given this observation an ironic twist by describing traffic jams as a "form of meditation

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in reflexive modernity" since traffic jams reveal that the arrangements intended to enhance mobility in a mobile risk society in the end result in restrictions of freedom, constraints, and, in the extreme case, forced standstill. Society pushing processes of acceleration can therefore lead to the opposite effect, namely ineffective, cost-intensive, and exhausting deceleration and immobility. Paul Virilio (2000) has referred to this as a "raging standstill," resembling a person running tirelessly on a treadmill without ever gaining ground.

In their anthropology of globalization, Inda and Rosaldo (2008) show that a comprehensive analysis of globalization processes must pay attention to the "material practices" shaping worldwide mobility. With this, they have both physical and social phenomena in mind, such as:

> *infrastructure, institutions, regulatory mechanisms, governmental strategies, and so forth – that both produce and preclude movement. The objective here is to suggest that global flows are patently structured and regulated, such that while certain objects and subjects are permitted to travel, others are not. Immobility and exclusion are thus as much a part of globalization as movement. (Inda and Rosaldo 2008, 29)*

Tangible structures must not be viewed solely as built environments and infrastructures made of glass, concrete, tar, steel, or fiberglass. Rather, they are at the same time "hard" social structures, so-called mobilities regimes, which regulate movement in space and (in the Weberian sense) eventually congeal into physical and physically measurable materialities. Our understanding of mobilities regimes refers to a concept of regimes applied in political science, as proposed, for instance, by Nohlen, Schultze, and Schüttemeyer (1998). On this basis, we come to a general definition of the concept of mobilities regime. According to Nohlen, Schultze, and Schüttemeyer, a regime is a:

> *way of life, type of order, and form of governance, thus an institutionalized set of principles, norms, and rules that regulates, in a basic way, how actors operate in a given context of action. (Nohlen, Schultze, and Schüttemeyer 1998, 548; authors' translation)*

Mobilities regimes hence represent specific sets of principles, norms, and rules that regulate, in a fundamental way, the movement of individuals, artifacts, capital, data, etc. in a given context of action. Generally speaking, mobilities regimes are a matter of disciplining and channeling movements and mobility by way of principles, norms, and rules. The differentiation of three levels of a mobilities regime refers to different depths of intervention in individual autonomy, with principles representing the most general form while norms prestructure action in concrete and precise ways. Rules, on the other hand, can be viewed as a general code of behavior, which represents binding guidelines for action.

Against this background, we can identify a multitude of mobilities regimes at different levels of society. They range from so-called "VFR regimes" (visiting friends and relatives), where mobility in social networks is regulated socially by means of norms and values, via company and organizational regimes, which direct

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the mobility of employees and membership, to the global mobilities regimes of international air traffic, container shipping lines, and national and international migration policies, etc.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS

In 1950, transport statistics recorded 25 million legal arrivals at international airports. Recent estimates indicate that the number of international arrivals has already exceeded one billion (cf. Urry 2007, 3). The 10 busiest airports in the world, at the head of the list Atlanta, Chicago, London, Tokyo, and Los Angeles, represent 600 million passengers annually (Ritzer 2010, 16). It is assumed that at least 360,000 passengers frequent US airspace at any point in time. These figures, however, do not necessarily mean that the number of mobile people has increased; what has changed dramatically is above all the distances, the forms of mobility, and the means of transportation used in traveling and maintaining social relationships over long distances. While use of the Internet and telecommunication has increased significantly, physical travel remains the major means of maintaining stable and intimate relationships with others.

Overall, the development of global mobilities regimes has led to changes in societies' relationships to space, spatial distance, and time. Tomlinson describes the fusion and parallelization of physical and virtual mobility as a key feature of the new mobilities regimes addressed in this volume. This provides the context leading us to choose the title of the book. For mobility and transport are phenomena that are not only structurally predetermined to a high degree but are also politically and socially regulated, irrespective of all of modernity's claims to freedom. The different mobilities regimes not only enhance and demand mobility, both of people and technical artifacts (cars, trains, airplanes, ships, bicycles, pedelecs, Segways, etc.), they also define the limits of individual mobility and often the paths in which people are allowed and expected to exercise mobility as well. At the moment when people move in space, different mobilities regimes intersect and the "bodies of rules" involved, whether internalized or from the outside, determine whether, when, and how travel occurs.

At the same time, Internet use has increased significantly. In Germany, 76 percent of the German population accesses the Internet daily (www.ard-zdf-onlinestudie.de). Yet, as Lübbe (1995) writes, communication has encouraged rather than replaced people's physical mobility. The equation therefore is this: the more people communicate, the more reasons they have to meet in person. In this vein, the Internet since its existence has led to more condensed social networks. The telecommunication technologies available worldwide intensify professional and economic relationships in particular, resulting in a continuous increase of face-to face meetings. A consequence is that the number of business trips have been increasing rather than decreasing for years. Face-to-face contacts are essential for community and trust, which is the reason why the hopes attached to teleworking today face a similar fate to those once associated with the paperless office in

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the 1980s. New technologies have boosted paper consumption in the business world since everything can be printed anywhere, anytime. A similar trend can be observed for communication technologies, such as video and Internet conferences, email communication, and Internet telephony: they have resulted in closer social relationships and networks, thus giving rise to more physical traffic:

> *Expanding telecommunication, because of its technical properties, due to which it remains unsatisfactory psychologically and in terms of group dynamics, in turn creates an additional need for immediate communication, and with the increasing number of teleconferences thus grows the number of meetings of the traditional kind, generating demand for travel. (Lübbe 1995, 118)*

Although this statement is more than 15 years old, more recent research shows that the potential for reducing traffic through communication is far from being fully utilized. Instead, the evidence seems to confirm that communication is a driver in generating traffic (Denstadli and Gripsrud 2010).

Tomlinson considers the "culture of immediacy" (2003) a characteristic feature of the mobile risk society. Various forms of mobility combine in ways that give rise to changed modes of interaction that to an increasingly lesser extent are bound to a common location. As Urry (2000) writes, "multiple mobilities," specifically social, spatial, virtual, and cultural mobilities, transform first into second modernity.

Urry (2007) identifies five processes of traffic generation. In describing these processes, he shows that the dynamics underlying the development of mobility in modernity depend on a variety of context factors, constraints, obligations, and options that people are faced with in individualized societies with a high division of labor.

The first process Urry (2007, 233–5) mentions is "legal, economic and familial obligations to attend a relatively formal meeting." This refers to events such as notary appointments, weddings, funerals, etc. where physical presence is indispensable and non-negotiable. Situations of this kind involve so-called "mobility burdens": formal expectations placed on the individual from the outside, which one can ill afford to resist and not without incurring sanctions. The second process he mentions is "social obligations to meet and to converse often involving strong expectations of presence and attention of the participants." What is meant by this is that there exist less formal occasions that nonetheless involve strong normative expectations requiring travel to a certain location. Cases in point are a child's high school graduation ceremony, the company Christmas party, etc. These are events where personal attendance is not legally required but where there is a high degree of social obligation and normative pressure demanding physical presence: "Such social obligations to networks of friends or family or colleagues are necessary for sustaining trust and commitment." The third process he refers to is "obligations to be co-present with others to sign specific contracts, to work on written or visual texts, to give gifts to distant others, to devise solutions to ill-functioning objects or to devise new instruments for scientific purposes." Especially in the context of work, there are a large number of reasons why people are required work and cooperate "elbow to elbow" and which explain why many hopes of replacing physical by

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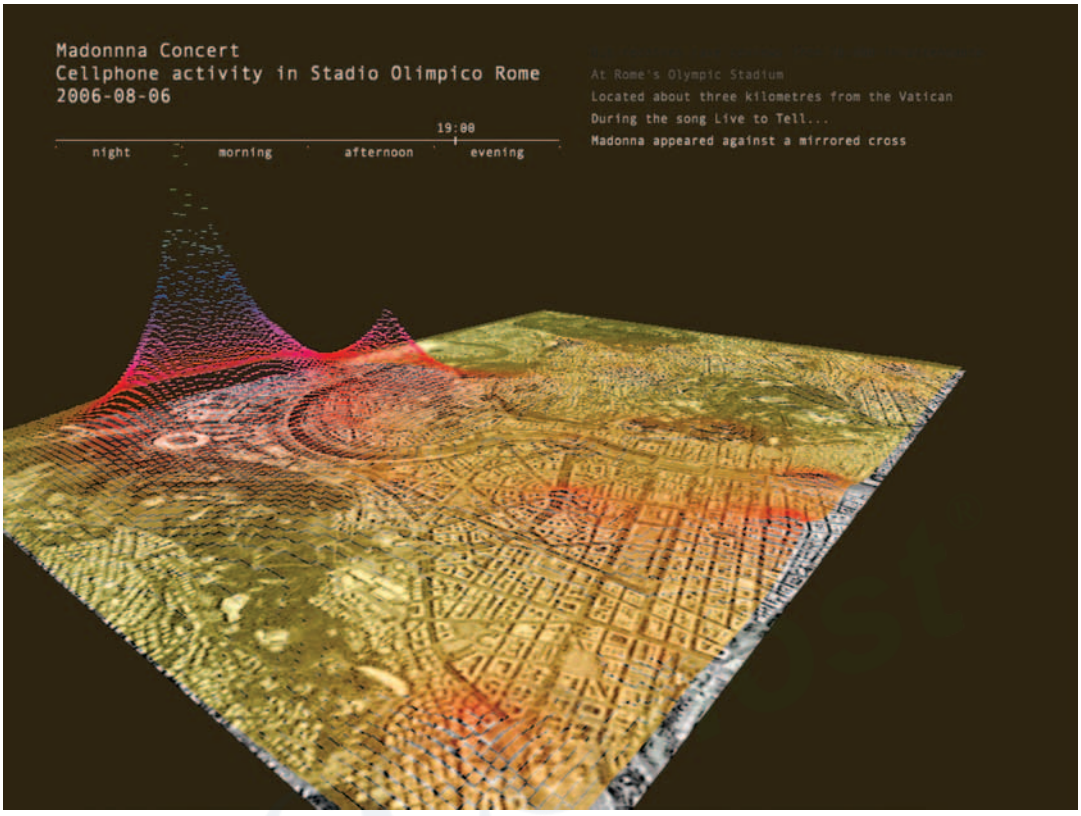

2.1 Madonna Concert in Rome © Senseable City Lab, MIT Cambridge, MA

virtual mobility have not materialized. Besides, there are "obligations to be in and experience a place 'directly' on occasions through movement within it and touch." The paradigmatic case is journalistic research, which typically requires to be done on the spot and not by drawing on second or third hand information acquired through reading or the Internet. The last process Urry describes is "obligations to experience a 'live' event that happens at a specific moment and place." If we want to experience a live concert or cheer for our favorite football team, we have no choice but to go where the action is.

Urry's list of reasons to travel illustrates that with regard to the reasons for travel, the various mobilities regimes overlap and mutually reinforce one another. Private and family relationships may provide motives for going from one place to another, create the desire to attend a specific event while at the same time conversing about it with friends in other places, or awaken the wish to engage in touristic travel to certain cities and regions in order to make certain experiences.

Today, physical mobility combines seamlessly with virtual mobility. Mobile work is the paradigmatic case as it epitomizes the disjunction of production from any specific location. Already today, but more so in the future, work can be done anywhere and everywhere: in one's car, which becomes a mobile office, at an airport lounge, café, cafeteria, public park, and presumably even at the much-cited beach, as propagated in advertisements time and again.

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Yet, besides the partially elitist mobility pioneers, which Elliot and Urry (2010) call "advanced mobiles," this fusion of physical and virtual mobility in combination with modern society's orientation toward acceleration and mobility has an immediate impact on the lower, less privileged classes. On the one hand, the existence of global infrastructures has intensified the international division of labor, leading to people in poorer countries increasingly taking on the jobs considered less attractive in rich countries (cf. Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2004). For instance, in this volume Alissa Tolstokorova analyzes mobility strategies of Ukrainian women who respond to the poor job prospects at home by leaving their country to seek employment as housekeepers in private homes abroad. Her focus extends beyond the working and living situations of the migrant women only to include the circumstances of the family members left behind. On the other hand, this results in developments where, for instance, lower-class slum dwellers in newly industrializing countries, such as Brazil, use low-cost carriers to travel from Sao Paulo or Rio de Janeiro to visit their relatives in the northeast. Instead of traveling several thousand miles by bus for days, they nowadays fly to Manaus, Recife, or further inland to Rio Branco (Acre) near the Bolivian and Peruvian border.

In a study of "corporate mobilities regimes" (Kesselring and Vogl 2010), four dimensions have proven a sound basis for describing structural change of mobility in business settings: normalization, rationalization, subjectification, and time-space compression of work-induced mobility. We assume that these dimensions represent discourses on the social structuring of mobility that also apply outside of company settings (Kesselring 2012).

The normalization of mobility involves processes of rationalization, subjectification, and time-space compression of mobility. People who are mobile have more opportunities, but also come under greater pressure, to organize their movement in space efficiently and effectively. Not only are expectations of being available at all times and able to respond quickly on the rise in work-related contexts, new technologies are also changing the ways of communicating and interacting in private settings and intimate relationships as well. Here, too, people are increasingly expecting prompt responses and quick coordination. Companies have created strong organizational capacities for mobility management to rationalize employees' travel and communication activities. The fact that more trips are taken in shorter periods of time and, above all, over greater distances is only one side of the coin. The other side is that mobile technologies offer new opportunities for control. Subjectification in company settings, as an expression of individualization in society, results in increasingly holding the individual responsible for organizing travel efficiently. Corporate travel policies determine that each employee individually is required to economize on travel time and travel costs. This, in turn, furthers the blurring of the boundaries between private and working life as some employees begin their business trips on weekends even though this may strongly interfere with their private and family life. Adding to this is the fact that the availability of high-speed transportation and communication technologies leads to the intensification

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of work, a process that we might describe as the time-space compression of work, and thus places growing pressure on the workforce.

Corporate mobilities regimes, for instance, may demand from employees, often in rigid ways, a readiness to be mobile (mobility imperative). Mobile workers and business travelers have only a limited say in how they conduct their travel activities. Although they may indeed have some discretion (in some cases to a considerable degree) in determining when they travel, how long, and in making the specific arrangements surrounding the trip, they usually have little influence concerning whether they travel and where to. Corporate travel policies lay down, to the greatest possible extent, a binding set of rules, which may not be changed or interpreted flexibly except for good reasons. Yet, to use Ritzer's imagery, the major channels (i.e., travel routes), barriers (rules prohibiting business travel for private purposes), restrictions (rules prohibiting travel to certain countries) and the like are set and non-negotiable. It is not in the power of the individual traveler to arrange his or her own mobility; rather, the mobiles invariably operate in a field of tension between autonomy and heteronomy. Hence, the autonomous, mobile subject is most notably a theme of first modernity. In second modernity, the mobile risk society, we are looking at so-called "motile hybrids" (Kesselring 2008, 81) who must seek to carry through with their own goals, plans, and projects often against rival attempts at exerting excessive control and direction from the outside. Referring to highly qualified professionals in multinational corporations, Ödül Bozkurt shows, for instance, that occupational mobility is by no means simply a privilege but involves new burdens as well.

The table presented below lists some of the mobilities regimes found in modern societies, which make it possible to maintain social relationships across distances. We have distinguished them according to the macro-, meso-, and micro-levels of social structuring to which they relate. As opposed to this heuristic, the various mobilities regimes constantly mesh with and influence one another. For this reason, the analysis of any such regime must always consider several of them from the vantage point of the specific issue or problem to be addressed.[1]

Table 2.1 Mobilities regimes in modern societies

Macro-level	*Global mobilities regimes* Global transport, GPS, and telecommunication regimes (e.g., aeromobilities, global container shipping, navigation, and routing) Nation state border regimes Global migration and illegal trafficking regimes, etc.
Meso-level	*Intra-organizational mobilities regimes* Companies, United Nations, World Bank, etc., the "networked firm," national and transnational professional networks, NGOs such as Greenpeace, Amnesty International, etc.
Micro-level	*Subject-oriented mobilities regimes* Social networks, families, friendship, Facebook communities, etc.

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Mobilities regimes, such as global networks of airports, airlines, and the supply and service networks connected to them, ensure that reliable global social and economic relations can be developed. These regimes are regulated, for instance, by international (mostly binational) agreements, such as the Treaty on Open Skies regulating the liberalization of aviation. However, in addition to the fairly general provisions of such agreements, these global mobilities regimes are shaped by national policies and the specific provisions in effect at individual airports. Such national policies include legal provisions regulating the entry and exit of people, the import and export of commodities, the right of asylum, or the terms of use of airport facilities as such (for details, see Adey 2004; Beckmann 2004; Salter 2004; Aaltola 2005; Fuller and Harley 2005). Sanneke Kloppenburg's contribution demonstrates in the case of the Indonesian airport of Jakarta how different mobility practices and policies can promote or inhibit the mobility of people and goods. In the following section, we will explore these ambivalences of modern mobility in more detail and inquire into the foundations of mobility from the perspective of modernization theory,

MOBILITY AND MODERNITY

Mobilization and modernization are closely intertwined and connected, which is reflected in an increasing mobilization of modern ways of life and work (cf. Doyle and Nathan 2001; Castells 2006; Urry 2007, 3–60; Schneider 2008; Schneider 2009). According to Tully (1999), in many areas of society, people are virtually "taught to be mobile." This has resulted in the institutionalization of a "mobility imperative" in society and hence a situation in which full mobility belongs to the "portfolio" of the modern individual and where young people, employees, and citizens are encouraged to develop "competitive advantages" vis-à-vis immobile populations and all those refusing to submit to mobility demands (Schneider et al. (2002) speak of "rejectors"; cf. Bauman 1998; Bauman 2000; Leadbeater 2001; Boltanski and Chiapello 2005; Mense-Petermann 2009). A successful person is a mobile, a flexible one.

In the following discussion, we will take a closer look at the normalization of mobility as a central tendency. Our approach is informed by social constructivism and discourse analysis. We start from the premise that social change is driven not only but to a substantial degree by what human beings and institutions conceive as reality.[2] This is because both approaches, the social sciences and the arts, offer distinct ways of comprehending the driving forces of modernization and also give us specific means of formulating "possible futures" in the first place. Some of the contributions to this volume show us what this might look like, for instance, when the artist Gülsün Karamustafa gives her interviewees the opportunity to reflect on their own past, present, and future in order to trace their motives and personal thoughts concerning their own mobility and make them accessible for art. Jordan Crandall and Mimi Sheller think through hypothetically and, in Crandall's case, explore in their artistic work how and at what points new information and communication technologies might influence our lives and change our perceptions

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of the world in which we travel. From Jørgen Ole Bærenholdt's contribution, we can learn that mobility experiences strongly depend on historical conditions and cultural contexts. These texts in conjunction with Kingsley Dennis' epilogue in Chapter 24 of this volume make it clear that artistic methods and social science methodologies are often not far apart and can benefit and enhance one another. Both approaches to the subject of mobility grapple with the same difficulties: how to grasp the transformations of modern into mobile risk society and make the gradual process of normalization of mobility transparent for it to be tackled both analytically and by public policy.

Beck has coined the term "banal cosmopolitanism" to describe the social and cultural changes that oftentimes go unnoticed and are difficult to grasp. What he means by this is that our consumption habits are being globalized *en passant*: what is offered in the refrigerated or fruit sections of our grocery stores is comprised of items from stores of food all over the globe while, for the most part, we hardly know what parts of the world the products come from. Ritzer (2010) gives an illustrative example. Referring to the production of his book, from which the following passage is cited, he shows how the various forms of physical and virtual mobility are connected and overlap:

> *this book is being written by an American; my editor and copy-editor are in England; the development editor is in Canada; reviewers are from four continents; the book is printed in Singapore and distributed by the publisher throughout much of the world; and you might be reading it today on a plane en route from Vladivostok to Shanghai. Further, if it follows the pattern of many of my other books, it may well be translated into Russian, Chinese, and many other languages. Amazon.com may make it one of its digital books that can be read via its wireless portable reading device, Kindle. This would make the book highly liquid since it would be possible for it to be downloaded anywhere in the world at any time. (Ritzer 2010, 3)*

"Supply chain capitalism" (Tsing 2009) is virtually ubiquitous. The material and immaterial "flows" play a crucial role in this context. This leads Ritzer (2010) to argue, in the same vein as Bauman (2000) and Urry (2000), that the increasing predominance of the mobile in modernity results in radical change in once firmly institutionalized structures, thus calling for a revision of theoretical perspective. Urry (2007) uses the notion of "Dwelling in Mobility" to describe the fact that "transnational connections" (Hannerz 2002) in combination with virtual and "mobile connections" have become commonplace in the private lives and the working worlds of many people. Email exchange and business trips extending beyond employees' own regional and national contexts have more or less become normality in recent years. At least Schneider (2008) shows that experiences with mobility and the belief that being mobile belongs to the key requirements expected from today's personnel are widespread in the six European countries investigated. Germany even ranks as the "European champion" in terms of frequency of experienced mobility. One in five employees reports having more or less intensive experiences with business travel, moving, or commuting over long distances. Schneider's data are remarkable in that they reflect a development in discourse within society according to which

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mobility is experienced as a new normality. What we mean by this is that changes have occurred at the level of guiding ideas, clearly placing greater emphasis on mobility than in the past.

Whereas the characteristic types of mobility in traditional societies and first modernity were represented by fringe groups and so-called mobility pioneers, in the post-industrial societies of second modernity the main types of mobility are to a much greater degree part of everyday life. It is no longer the poor traveler on the fringes of society, the day laborer of premodernity, or the privileged, educated bourgeois, artist, or scholar (à la Turner, Goethe, or Humboldt) in the heyday of modernity who stands for a mobile lifestyle and cosmopolitical mindset. In second modernity, they have been replaced by managers, simple business travelers, and tourists who are the epitome of the mobile person in present-day society. First-hand knowledge of the world is no longer the privilege of a small elite that possesses the required skills and necessary economic, social, and cultural capital to discover the world. Today, from top to bottom across all social strata, experiences with mobility are being made and complex, worldwide networks of social and professional relationships are being formed. Emanating from mobility pioneers, mobility knowledge spreads throughout society and becomes available to a larger part of the population than had been the case in the (because of their exclusive nature) rigid and socially static class societies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The normalization (we may almost speak of banalization) of micro-, meso-, and macro-scale mobilities regimes has a democratizing side effect, as it were: it gives individuals of all social strata the opportunity to develop the potential and acquire the skills for mobility. This is not to say that in mobile risk society, everyone everywhere is constantly on the move and has access to everything. What it means is rather that social orientations, the demands on labor, and the "enactment" of individuality are undergoing change, and in contrast to first modernity, the mobility imperative has become a key element in the system of norms and values that govern social life and cooperation in the world of work: "An apologia for change, risk and mobility replaces the high premium put on the idea of security" (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005, 89).

For this reason, the changes in second modernity since the late twentieth century toward a mobile risk society must be subjected to closer scrutiny. Especially under the influence of the Internet, which has gradually become commercialized and democratized since the early 1990s and without which everyday life has now become difficult to imagine, our social practices and perceptions of mobility have undergone significant change. Whereas communication and mobility were strictly separated in first modernity, various forms of physical and virtual mobility are amalgamated in second modernity. Making a phone call, writing a letter, or orienting oneself in space no longer requires us to be at a certain place. Being available while on the road, staying in touch with other people and institutions while traveling, driving to work, or visiting a café with friends, with few exceptions, poses no problem at all. Access to the new media, at least theoretically, can provide an opportunity to stay in touch with friends and family, or also to contact the police or authorities, for people who are forced into mobility, such as refugees,

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certain migrant laborers, and victims of human trafficking, prostitution, or slavery. Technological developments along the lines of augmented reality and cloud computing are progressing at a breathtaking pace. Under certain circumstances, this can have a positively democratizing effect for many people by opening access to communication networks. Apart from the adverse effects of potentially ubiquitous control over the individual, open access to the means of communication can also give rise to new social constructions of security, availability, and closeness, which to a substantial degree may bring back elements of support and reliability, especially to the lives of people in precarious circumstances.

The table below addresses how the so-called "advanced mobiles" (Elliott and Urry 2010) develop new social practices that break with the ideal type forms of first modernity. Elsewhere we have referred to these new forms of mobility and communication as "motile hybridity" (Kesselring 2008). Social types emerge that command significantly more mobility potential than travelers without such technical equipment do:

> *Research indicates … that all social ties at-a-distance depend upon multiple processes of coordination, negotiation and renegotiation with others. "Renegotiation" is especially significant in the coordination of mobile networks, as people "on the move" use new technologies to reset and reorganize times and places for meetings, events and happenings as they go about preparing to meet with others at previously agreed times. (Elliott and Urry 2010, 31)*

Table 2.2 Globalized and virtualized mobility

Globalized mobility Movement beyond the nation state (nineteenth/twentieth centuries)	Virtualized mobility Mobility beyond the time-space continuum (twenty-first century)
Humboldt-type scientist Cosmopolitans Emigrants and immigrants	
(Mass) tourists Trans-migrants (Global manager)	"Digital nomad" Netsurfer
Advanced mobiles Mobile workers, business travelers and everyday travelers/commuters	
(Ambivalences: "Here, there, and everywhere")	

The mass distribution of mobile devices testifies to a structural change in the organization of society, which according to Elliot and Urry (2010) can be analyzed at four levels:

1. In a world marked by the omnipresence of mobility technologies (smartphones, digital displays in subways, touch-screen information systems, portable computers and communication media, invisible smart

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transportation systems, on-demand public rental bikes, new car-sharing systems, mobility cards in Switzerland, etc.), strategic travel planning and communications scheduling gain significance for more and more people across all social classes and age groups. To the extent that "advanced mobilities" (Elliott and Urry 2010, 32) are not only technically feasible but also affordable, we can expect people to schedule communication and meet face-to-face more frequently. Waiting is no longer experienced as a waste of time but becomes "equipped waiting" (Lyons, Jain, and Holley 2007) where people can not only be highly productive but can also experience this "idle time" as emotionally significant (cf. Ehn and Löfgren 2010). Mobile workers use idle time at airports and in traffic jams for contemplating or talking to their loved ones on the phone.[3]

2. Mobility technologies enable connectivity; the individual person becomes a kind of "portal" since the person himself or herself and others gain access to other social spaces through these technologies. Parallel worlds can be combined with one another while on the move. Different worlds of meaning, codes, regimes, and norm systems are linked in complex ways. While driving, a person might participate in a meeting; in the process, he or she may constantly receive data allowing the him or her to navigate to the correct destination or to inform himself or herself about cultural, political, or stock market events. Activities and social relationships are *delocalized* and *decontextualized*. Navigation is by no means limited to maneuvering through topography; it also involves the ability to decide what information and which social context is relevant at a specific point in time. The city environment or Facebook? Road space or virtual space? Landline telephones are bound up with clearly defined places; cell phones, by contrast, allow autonomous movement in space. Communication occurs between people and not between places. Mobile forms of social life are distinct from stationary ones, which leads Kaufmann (2002) to discuss different models of sociation that follow from this, ranging from an areolar model of local rootedness to a fluid, rhizomatic model of sociation in mobile social environments.
3. Current studies show that relationships at a distance, involving high levels of spatial mobility, are based on "multiple processes of coordination, negotiation and renegotiation with others" (Elliott and Urry 2010, 31). As the distance between people increases, so do coordination costs (cf. Katz and Aakhus 2002; Ling 2005; Forlano 2008; Axtell and Hislop 2008). Families who see each other on a daily basis can rely on routines, traditions, and explicitly agreed-upon arrangements. This is not the case when one or more family members travel frequently. Moreover, mobility increasingly seems to characterize the everyday life of youths, as well as in a historical perspective (see Tully and Baier 2006; Pooley, Turnbull, and Adams 2005). Especially in the cities, family life to an increasing extent is marked by asynchronicity and the dissolution of boundaries, which also places greater burdens on the middle classes in terms

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of the coordination work required in order to bring together family members (cf. Schier 2008). Explicit arrangements must be made to get together since at times encounters do not occur as a matter of course, nothing simply happens without planning, etc. And arrangements made can always be rescheduled. Social relationships are not constituted in face-to-face communication; instead, technology-based forms of coordination (Skype, video calls, text message dating, etc.) must be employed and proficiency in their use must be developed to create social cohesion.

4. These shifts in the social construction of reality have consequences for the social-psychological foundations of relationships and the web of everyday interactions between people. They also affect basic social categories, such as presence and absence, here and there, availability and social proximity/closeness. In this context, Elliott and Urry (2010) also discuss the social consequences of a technological unconscious that prestructures social ties. Two examples may suffice to illustrate this: the way people move about in public spaces and what technologies of social control they accept or take for granted have changed substantially in the wake of the terrorists attacks of September 11, 2001 and those in Djerba (2002), Madrid (2004), and London (2005). The studies by Kitchin and Dodge (2009), Salter (2008), and Brabetz (2009) show that not only have security architectures changed but so have social perceptions of security. What was once rejected as inappropriate surveillance is now interpreted as an adequate form of maintaining public security.

CONCLUSIONS

The issues pursued in this book pertain to the opportunities and risks involved in the developments and changes described above, which lie well outside the areas that have attracted the spotlight of attention in research and practice in the past.

Following up on the conference held under the title "Tracing the New Mobilities Regimes" at the Munich *Akademie der Bildenden Künste* in 2008, this book breaks a new path. It combines social scientific analyses of new mobilities regimes with approaches from the arts and art studies that anticipate and identify changes in the relations to mobility in society. Compiling contributions, which partly flow into one another, from art theorists, artists, and social scientists in the same volume gives rise to a discourse extending beyond the book itself to link academic analysis of and aesthetic-artistic approaches to present and future mobility. The language of images and the written word thus enter an immediate dialogue, leaving it up to the reader to explore intuitive connections while reading and viewing. This makes it possible to trace references and cross-connections that have not yet been verbalized or presumably cannot even be fully spelled out in all their entirety, and provides opportunities to identify and probe into future research topics and perspectives.

Translation from German: Stephan Elkins

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NOTES

1 In the study of corporate mobilities regimes, all three levels had some significance since company structures in conditions of globalization cannot be explained without reference to global transportation, communication, and logistics networks, and mobile work invariably has an impact on employees' social relationships.

2 What we are referring to here is the theoretical foundations of the sociology of knowledge and social constructivism laid down in the work of Schütz (2004) and Berger and Luckmann (1980). Moreover, our approach draws especially on the social theory and methodology of discourse analysis in the tradition of Michel Foucault (in this respect, see Jäger 1999; Hajer 2003; Bröckling, Krasmann, and Lemke 2007; Burchell and Foucault 2009).

3 Eric Laurier's work provides impressive evidence that trips by car can involve moments of maximum intimacy and emotional closeness. Idle time spent in traffic jams is often used to discuss problematic issues, also because the intense conversation can be interrupted at any time in this situation due to having to focus on traffic. At the Sixth Cosmobilities Conference in Aalborg, Denmark, Laurier presented a hermeneutical analysis of car trips documented on video. He shows the emotional intensity of the conversations "on the move," which he traces to the special transitory situation while driving. On this, see the discussion of "mobile methods" and Laurier's other work (Büscher, Urry, and Witchger 2010; Laurier 2005).

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Prologue

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3

Agency, Mobility, and the Timespace of Tracking

Jordan Crandall

More than anything, the world *moves*. To harness this movement is to endeavor to achieve an advantage of some kind: to run faster, jump higher, probe deeper, gain ground, *territorialize*. One of the key techniques of harnessing movement is through its translation into a metrics – a calculable form that can be standardized and reproduced. When movement becomes quantified in this way, to the extent that it can be studied in *real time*, it becomes *trackable*.

To track is to quantify movement in the space of the present for the purpose of gaining some kind of strategic advantage. It is to narrow the gap between detection and engagement, or desire and its attainment. Tracking aims for a real-time perceptual agency, a live concert of forces, while always aiming to transcend the limitations of the real. Its true allegiance lies not in the present but in the future. It is fundamentally an *anticipatory* perception – one that offers up a predictive knowledge-power, a competitive edge.

To track is to aim to detect and codify moving phenomena – stock prices, biological functions, enemies, consumer goods – in order to extrapolate future positions for the purpose of gaining advantage in a competitive or cooperative theater, whether the battlefield, the social arena, or the marketplace. Tracking infuses perception with the logics of tactics and maneuver, whether in the name of acquisition or defense, aiming to equip actors with the abilities to outmaneuver their competitors and intercept their objects of suspicion and desire.

DETECTION. QUANTIFICATION. STANDARDIZATION. PREDICTABILITY. MOVEMENT IS INSTRUMENTALIZED IN MOBILITY

Tracking took root in the centuries-old cartographic tradition, where it has traditionally relied upon observational expertise. Indeed, the history of tracking is based in the agential node of the vigilant observer, harnessed to the screen, watching movements, extrapolating patterns – the observational expert,

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